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Washington Wire .... T.R.B.

We came away from the Supreme Court's hearing on the segregation cases last week in a philosophic mood. Spring has seeped up to the Capitol now, and everything is a-bud and a-twitter. There were 16 buses for out-of-town high-school kids parked one behind the other on the Capitol Plaza (where the overcoated crowd shivers every four years to watch the new President sworn in). The languid spring breeze rocked the little green bombshells of maple sprays, and the sightseeing youngsters complained of how their feet hurt. It was dull in Congress, they said. Well, a century ago they would have heard demagogues inside steaming up for the Civil War.

There is so much that is tawdry and commonplace in Washington that a cynical reporter can spend a lifetime here finding fault. Yet now and then he catches a sense of greatness. It was so, last week, in Cass Gilbert's glittering marble Supreme Court building. There the government still has dignity. You go into the court room where every architectural trick has been bent to awe you, and you see the nine Justices in black robes asking courteous, perceptive, searching questions. There is no hurry; there is no delay. Originally the Justices were supposed to sit in elaborately carved chairs, but they preferred to bring over their own comfortable ones, in all sizes, and you can practically see the Nine stamped out in the leather after they have left. There's a new ceiling to improve acoustics, and now a big, temporary loudspeaker with a crude mosquito net over it sticks up 20 feet or so over the Chief Justice's head, and you can finally hear in the place. These housekeeping arrangements are curiously comforting: they show judicial flexibility and common sense, and a capacity to make even a Greek temple work.

Eleven months ago the Supreme Court decided—unanimously—that segregated schools in America won't do. The Court is now working out judicial procedure to put its decision into effect, a process that seemed to us very much like legislation. It is quiet here in the court, but the attentive ear can hear emotions and passions roaring round the place. Not today nor tomorrow, but ultimately, segregation will end.

We got to thinking about it as we dropped in on Abe Lincoln in his Memorial at the other end of the Mall. They have put him in a Greek temple, too. We pay a call now and then and have never yet failed to come away feeling better. He looks out through the open colonnades, brooding and whimsical, toward the Capitol and the Court, and the nation behind. "Golly!" said a school girl from Nyack looking up at him. She said everything we felt. We were envious of her gift of literary compression.

Well, 90 years have passed and the Negro in America still endures injustice and humiliation. On the other hand, what other nation, faced with a social problem like this, has ever come so far? The pace is now accelerating. Competition with the Communists doubtless is a stimulant. But anyway, there it is. Negro voting rights are accumulating, lynching is over, accretion of purchasing power attests higher living standards and brings with it greater respect. Now schools must improve. We often think the United States is a hard place to figure out. There is much that is tawdry and ignoble, and there are bigots and demagogues. On the other hand Abe still sits in his marble temple and there are nine black-robed Justices who speak quietly but firmly. There is splendor in Washington, too.

It was good to see a lot of familiar faces at the annual Democratic Jefferson-Jackson Day jamboree and tribal dance, staged here this year in honor of fine old Sam Rayburn. Harry Truman and Bess were there, looking fine. Mrs. Roosevelt, Adlai Stevenson and the Democratic majority leaders were, too. Down in the hall we found Dean Acheson, with his Guards' moustache a little grayer now—the man who said he would not turn his back on Alger Hiss; it must be odd for him to watch his successor in the Corsi case, a man who will apparently turn his back on anybody.

The Democrats were self-consciously trying to learn the phrase, "Ike is responsible for his Administration," but most of them did not utter it very loudly nor with much conviction. The fact is a lot of Democratic Congressmen like the way things are. Even with another Ike victory next year, the Senate Democratic majority should increase, and it might even in the House, too. Many Democratic Congressmen are content with committee chairmanships, coalition government, and having Ike to blame if anything goes wrong. Their legislative record so far has been sterile and conservative; they have had little to say about the public power give-away, the natural gas grab, mergers and monopolies; they have launched no effective probe of security risks, exhibited on their own part a new protectionism and adopted a "papa-knows-best" attitude toward foreign affairs, at least until Adlai Stevenson intervened. The pressure on the Democrats to be liberal comes largely from outside its own Congressional membership. State leaders, whose influence dwindles when there is no White House patronage to dispense, are beginning to complain loudly about the reluctance of the Democrats in Congress to "pour it on Ike" personally.

Justice Department prosecutor William Gallagher obtained an indefensible indictment against State Department employee Val Lorwin as a security risk some months ago and then was forced to drop it. Gallagher's boss, Attorney General Brownell, recently explained why to a House committee: "Mr. Gallagher indicated that he felt it was better to indict Mr. Lorwin on slight evidence than to be forced to appear before a Senate committee to explain why he had not obtained an indictment."

Notes: We like the story of the Bishop who came to Washington and caught the mood of the place so quickly that he began stamping sermons, prayers and miscellaneous sacerdotal material "sacred" and "top sacred." . . . With innocent wonder the publisher of *Time* notes that this is the tenth occasion on which Chiang Kai-shek has appeared on the front cover, oftener than any other man; some people even think *Time* is a little biased in the matter.

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BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Orphans, Greeks, Republicans and McLeod

AT THE desire of Chairman William Langer (R, N.D.)—no man to be bound by protocol—members of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee moved into the well of the hearing room on April 15 to join R. W. Scott McLeod at the witness table. Seated around the small table to discuss the admission (or non-admission) of refugees into the US, the group had the intimacy of a Friday night poker game at the Elk's club.

As head of the State Department Consular Office, Mr. McLeod—better known as the Department's security chief—became Administrator of the Emergency Immigration Act of 1953, passed in August of that year. Some 209,000 immigrants can be admitted under that law. Mr. McLeod sees this figure as a ceiling, not a goal. Some 90,000 of these people can come from Germany and Austria, 60,000 from Italy, 17,000 from Greece and 17,000 from the Netherlands. Originally three-quarters of the visas were to have gone to refugees and only one-quarter to relatives of US citizens. A 1954 amendment to the Act—passed when it was clear that the quota would never be filled—eliminated this requirement.

Four thousand orphans, who may be taken from any country in the world without the preliminary assurances, are also permitted entry. In McLeod's opinion: "The orphan is the best type of immigrant for the United States. He doesn't have any political notions. He can't be a security risk." Only 562 orphans, however, have been admitted under the Act so far.

Sen. Thomas C. Hennings wanted an explanation of why, by June, 1954, only one refugee visa had been issued in Greece, but 689 Greek relatives of Americans had obtained visas. Mr. McLeod said—without elucidation—that he had held off action on the refugee cases until the fiscal year of 1954-1955. Hennings then went back to the first year and a half of operations under the Displaced Persons Law of 1948. By March, 1950, more than 152,000 visas had been issued; almost 139,000 refugees had entered the country. But in the first year and a half of the present act—which expires on December 31, 1956—24,800 visas were issued, about 3,700 of these to refugees and the remainder to relatives of US citizens. Only 1,044 refugees had entered the United States as of April 8, 1955. Mr. McLeod attributed his slow start to the "tooling-up" process, such as that required for producing a new model automobile. Tooling-up for the refugee program has thus far cost $7.5 million.

Mr. McLeod also explained to the Senators that Edward Corsi's exile from the State Department was the result of Corsi's refusal to "work with the team." McLeod himself had initially recommended the New Yorker to Secretary Dulles as a likely fellow to administer the refugee program, although it appeared under Senator Langer's questioning that he didn't know Mr. Corsi had worked for two Presidents and had once run for the Senate. ("What did you know about him except that he had two feet, a head and two arms?" inquired Langer. "I knew he was a Republican," replied Mr. McLeod.)

Senator Hennings asked McLeod if he remembered this snatch of dialogue Corsi had remembered in closed session:

> CORSI: What about this friend of yours in Congress who is knocking my head off?
>
> MCLEOD: You can't win a fight with a Congressman or a skunk . . . I can't stand up for you because if I did I would put myself out with him.

McLeod was unable to recall "some of that colorful language."

The Court Considers

ORAL ARGUMENTS before the Supreme Court have ended as to the nature and scope of the decrees it should issue to end racial segregation in the public schools. The only certainty emerging from those arguments is that no magic formula can be invented to satisfy all interested parties.

Counsel for Negro parents demanded that the Court decree an end to segregation by next September, or in any case not later than September, 1956, and contended that the enforcement of desegregation should be uniform as to the time and the procedure throughout the country.

The attorneys for the Southern states breathed defiance and cited statistics calculated to prove that Negroes are ignorant, unhealthy, immoral and hence unfit to associate with white children in schools at the present time. They pleaded for time (estimated at from 5 to 90 years) to adjust their educational systems to the new order and urged a form of local option as to the precise time and manner of desegregation in the schools.

The middle-of-the-road approach of Eisenhower's Justice Department elicited the Court's interest and may provide a clue as to the Court's ultimate action. Solicitor General Simon Sobeloff maintained that the cases should be remanded to federal district courts with instructions to require community leaders to present integration plans within 90 days or, in the absence of acceptable plans, to formulate some plans of their own.

Such plans would be made effective as soon as "local conditions" reasonably permitted. These courts would then supervise execution of the plans, take steps to guard against circumvention and defiance, and make progress reports to the United States Supreme Court, which would retain jurisdiction to issue further orders.

An unresolved question which may give greater trouble in the future, however, was whether the Court could make its forthcoming orders effective in any but the four states and the District of Columbia which are directly involved in the pending cases before the Court.

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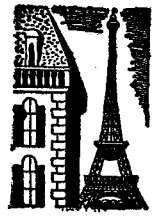
Why Russia Was Willing To Let Austria Go

THE AUSTRIAN settlement is the best news the Western Europeans have had in years. The Soviets have agreed to a four-power conference on Austria alone. If the four-power conference is held and confirms the concessions they made, there will be a new wave of hope about the chances for some degree of success, of a later, more general discussion between the West and East. As interpreted here in Paris, Soviet concessions seem to be real enough, on all the big issues—anschluss, foreign military bases, military alliances, economic matters.

There are few illusions about Soviet generosity. The price Moscow is paying is high, especially in regard to the surrender of economic advantages, but the prize is great. Quite obviously, most Western European commentators agree, the Austrian settlement amounts to another in the series of Russian moves to prevent the effective rearmament of West Germany. That, however, does not make the move less important in itself. It is quite different in kind, moreover, than the last previous move, affirmative rather than negative: allowing Austria to become a unified, sovereign, free country has no relationship with tearing up the treaties with France and Britain.

The Soviets quite plainly hope that the unification of Austria will strengthen those West Germans who fear that rearmament will postpone indefinitely German reunification and who, therefore, are bent on preventing the effective implementation of Western European Union. On the military side, the creation of a Soviet equivalent of NATO, a so-called joint command for the satellites, makes less important the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

But many Western Europeans who aren't pro-Communist or anti-Western, men like General Charles de Gaulle, for example, still consider it worthwhile to try to work out a formula for German reunification before the implementation of WEU. They ask: if the Americans are really concerned with the military protection of Western Europe and as far to the East as possible, won't they continue to have their own troops in West Germany, and why won't they help the other Western European nations (excluding West Germany) increase theirs? And if the Americans really believe what so many of their generals have been saying about air power and atomic air power, why aren't they consistent?



Of course, there is the further implication of the Austrian settlement: that the creation of a neutral Austria—even with an armed neutrality in the Swiss fashion—may be the precedent for a similar effort in West Germany. Many signs from Moscow recently have pointed in the direction of a desire to create a neutral buffer area between the Western European countries and the satellites. But there is nothing in the Austrian treaty, as foreseen now, which establishes a political or juridical connection with Germany's future. The task, if West Germany or a unified Germany is not also to be neutral, is diplomatic, economic, psychological. The West—the US in this context—must meet Soviet competition for the German people. And here too, there are many who see nothing misplaced in the idea. If there isn't to be a big military war, security for the West can just as well depend on the outcome of a new kind of Cold War as on the result of the present kind. And a buffer zone of neutrality in central Europe doesn't seem to increase the probability of a local war in Europe of the Asian variety.

Still another interpretation of the Soviet motive is that Moscow wants to turn most of its attention toward Asia. And here the point is not merely that the Russians want more in Asia or want to co-operate more actively and effectively with Communist China. It may also be that the Russians need to have all their strength and skill to cope *both* with the Radford- Knowland current in US-Asian politics *and* with the independent ambitions of Red China.

As a not-incidental result of the settlement, the coming Pinay-Adenauer meeting takes on added importance. Already, in preparation Premier Faure has announced that France, which can build H-bombs, won't do so, but will work to become the first wholly peaceful atomic power. He also made proposals for further democratization of the French army. For example, conscripts are to learn trades during their period of service; thus, there is to be an army geared directly toward the defense of peace.

It isn't a secret that the Germans are interested in developing atomic power—and not exclusively for peaceful purposes; nor that the military currents that surge against an excessive democratization of the new German army are swelling. The Austrian settlement will certainly affect the Pinay-Adenauer talks on such subjects.

As usual, the US High Commission in Germany and also the State Department will be kept fully informed about these talks. The comments made in Washington will have much bearing on public opinion in Western Europe.

Paris FRANK GORRELL

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EDITORIAL

Do We Want Asian Unity?

IF THE Bandung Conference accomplishes its purpose the world will learn that a new Asia and a new Africa have been born and are bound together in a new alliance by a common heritage of rebellion against white colonial rule. That was the message of President Soekarno of Indonesia in his welcoming address of April 18 to the delegates at Bandung. Seated among the representatives of 27 non-Communist nations in the ballroom of the Old Dutch Club, the Premier of Communist China applauded with enthusiasm while in a room outside, a self-appointed spokesman for this country, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, protested to a small group of journalists that the United States was not so bad as some might think.

It seems probable that to most Asians this scene presented an exciting contrast to the United Nations where the West sets the course of debate and Asia's largest nation is denied its rightful place. Our own government, while it professed sympathy for the Conference, knew that it represented a setback for the West. The setback was self-inflicted; for the solidarity first sought by the new nations of Asia was on a basis of common faith rather than common background and color. It was the West's support of colonialism, its exclusion of Communist China from the world community and its creation of a white-dominated military network to hold the region that led the principal non-Communist nations to the alternate quest for Asian solidarity that was expressed at Bandung.

Most Westerners have hoped that this second quest would fail. The hope was expressed in innumerable articles whose burden was that Asian solidarity is an empty concept. In the best of these articles Peggy Durdin reported from Singapore in the *New York Times* of April 17:

> . . . There is no single Asian voice. . . . There is as yet no such thing as Asian opinion as Bandung . . . will demonstrate . . . as Asian leaders meet to symbolize their solidarity Asian countries could hardly differ more radically and dramatically. . . .

From this appraisal Mrs. Durdin like every other American commentator drew a comforting conclusion: only by sticking to the "five generalities" formulated by Nehru and Chou En-lai could the Bandung Conference avoid a free-for-all. Over and over this conclusion was emphasized in our press. But does a conference which generalizes for the sake of agreement thereby fail? In our rush for immediate results we tend to judge a measureless and timeless concept such as Asian solidarity by the capacity of Asians and Africans to tackle and resolve divisive and difficult problems at their first meeting. Yet Asia distinguishes itself from the West precisely by its rejection of any such time scale. The directors of the Bandung Conference who set its agenda were well aware of the forces that divide Asians and Africans against themselves. It was their intention always to limit their initial gathering to generalities and they set out to make their intention effective by enacting a unanimity rule. American observers hailed this rule as a defeat for Chou En-lai in his supposed endeavor to force the Bandung Conference to underwrite Peking's immediate and controversial objectives in the Formosa Straits. But Chou, as patient as any Asian and more self-confident than most, showed none of the chagrin as the conference opened that Americans assumed he felt.

IN THE judgment of most American observers there were three conflicting blocs at Bandung: the Communist bloc of China and Viet-Minh; the neutralist bloc led by India, Burma and Indonesia and the third bloc of Asian nations allied with the West. These blocs, of course, hold differing objectives, and if the purpose of the Conference had been to compress them into one Asian bloc at Bandung, then its failure would have been assured from the start. But no such purpose inspired the leaders of the conference. In their time scale the objective of the Asian bloc, if it exists at all, is generations ahead. Meanwhile in the planning that lay behind Bandung, the community of interest among Communist and non-Communist nations was a good deal more real than American officials were ready to admit.

The Premier of Communist China began by showing remarkable restraint at Bandung. So he demonstrated both perception and strength. In the quarter century of its development Chinese Communism had been isolated from Asia. To end this isolation, maintained by US pressure, is presumably Peking's central objective today. Chou went to Bandung to establish relationships with non-Communist Asia in behind-the-scenes conferences, to gain room to maneuver, and to refute the image of Chinese Communism that the West has endeavored to press upon Asian minds. That image is of an expansionist and arrogant regime and it is one that most Asians want to reject. It was surely Chou's intent to replace at Bandung the US image of Communist China with his own image of a nation in the Asian mold, more sinned against than sinning and driven to use military force only as a last recourse against an overbearing and imperialist United States.

The "neutralist" bloc in turn was not eager to refute

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this second image of Chou's making. Its spokesman, Nehru, is fond of comparing the Soviet revolution to the French revolution, during which, in his opinion, excesses of violence blinded contemporary critics to the long-range validity of the revolution itself. Nehru holds further that the Chinese Communists are a more representative regime than the Bolsheviks of Russia. In Asian solidarity he foresees the principal hope for a reassertion of Chinese nationalism. And because nationalism to Nehru implies both independence of foreign domination and concentration upon domestic economic tasks, he sees in Asian solidarity the means of winning over Peking.

Thus the Communist bloc and the "neutralist" bloc held a common stake in the success of the Bandung Conference and in the further development of the concept of Asian solidarity. What was the true interest of the third bloc of nations that is responsive to the influence of the United States?

IT IS cardinal in United States policy at present that the nations of Asia should stand up and be counted, for or against the rigid Asian policy that domestic political pressures in this country have so largely shaped. It was accordingly our hope that specific issues, however divisive, would be faced at Bandung and that on every occasion on which Chou En-lai opened his mouth the Asian friends of the United States would take the floor to point out to the delegates that Chinese Communism is the true colonialism, the real military threat in Asia today.

Our friends among the Bandung delegates followed that course designed to reassure us. Their views make welcome headlines in our newspapers and invigorating reading for Congressmen who shudder at the high cost of economic aid. But is this attitude of antagonism to the objectives that gave rise to Bandung really in the long-term interests of free Asia, of the West, and of the United States?

Six years in which our reserves of good will have steadily declined point to the self-defeating nature of our policy of isolating China. Our concept of stand-up-and-be-counted has revealed a minority of Asian nations on our side and one which tends to grow smaller rather than larger as China's power grows. And yet the non-Communist nations in Asia are in a substantial majority. Of the 29 Asian and African nations represented at Bandung two are Communist-led. It seems doubtful that the proportion will be as favorable again, and a presumption follows surely that it is wise to meet with Communist China and to extract what assurances of good conduct we can from her rulers while her border states are still independent and the weight of numbers is on the non-Communist side. Peking endorses the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of Asian nations. Our response is generally to scorn the assurance as a meaningless generality, a fraud. Peking, we hold, is inherently expansionist, irrevocably bound to Russia, implacably committed to the legend of foreign hostility and to the maintenance of armed might. There is no time for experiments with China, we add, for Southeast Asia is already all but lost. But neither in the ancient tradition of China nor in her recent past will the majority of free Asians concede that there is proof of our contention. Nor will free Asians admit that they are poorer custodians of their own freedom and independence than the US.

The legitimate governments of Laos, of Cambodia, of Thailand and all the border nations to which Peking's ambitions extend are present at Bandung. The 27 non-Communist nations represented there are capable of questioning Peking in detail on these areas and determining from Peking's answers whether the principle is taken seriously in Peking, or not. There is throughout free Asia a historic suspicion of Chinese imperialism, a deep-felt fear and jealousy of the overseas Chinese, and an intuitive sensitivity to foreign domination. Nehru's hope that China will conform to Asian standards may be illusory. But since the illusion is so widely held in the area concerned, it may be that survival requires that it be first tested and then found wrong. Outrageous as the illusion seems to our own crusaders, it is highly valuable to Peking. For this reason alone the illusions of Asia's neutralists may form a more solid barrier to Chinese expansion in Southeast Asia than American guns.

IT WAS because the United Nations has not been permitted to function as a world organization that the representatives of five-eighths of the world were induced to assemble at Bandung. The bridge to China established there is likely to bear increasing traffic for as long as the US persists in blowing up every other bridge in sight. A common resentment of a colonial past is certainly a deplorable and inadequate base for a present-day political alliance between free nations and Communist dictatorships. But it can be made to serve as a base, and to our detriment, if that common resentment is kept alive by a common fear of US military power, and a common suspicion that we are ready to use that power recklessly in what will be seen as a preventive war against Peking. For all the resistance to Communism that exists in Asia, we can assure Peking a majority there by continuing to deny the legitimate demands of China which any self-respecting government would press. If on the other hand, the Asian nations are permitted to look to the future, then Asian solidarity can be turned to a constructive use. Economic development is the great objective placed high on the agenda at Bandung. Its lack of capital and its ideology prohibit Communist China from playing a leading role in economic development in Asia. The United States in contrast has everything to offer. Promptly and generously implemented, the President's concept of a regional aid program for Asia can make a co-operative enterprise of Asian solidarity; the proportion of Communist and non-Communist nations in Asia and Africa can be held at 27 to 2.

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Marx and Mendel in the USSR

by P. S. Hudson

ON A HOT afternoon last August, with the sun beating down from a cloudless blue sky, I stepped on to Moscow Airfield from an RAF plane in which I, in company with four other agricultural scientists, had left London the previous day in the cold dismal rain. We were the British delegation to Moscow in response to an invitation from the Soviet Government to send a delegation to visit the Soviet Agricultural Exhibition, which was being held for the first time since the war. We were the first official delegation to visit the USSR since the war ended and were absolutely in the dark as to what sort of welcome we should get. Here was our first surprise: we were received with bouquets of flowers and astonished at the cordiality and lavishness with which our hosts treated us. When they found that I could speak their language they were delighted and obviously flattered, and thereafter the warmth of their hospitality increased still further.

Our main purpose was to visit the agricultural exhibition, and this we did assiduously for 10 days in succession, and still did not succeed in seeing more than about half of it. The exhibition was like a small town in itself, occupying a site of more than 500 acres on the outskirts of Moscow. There were lakes and fountains in gaudy colors, avenues of trees planted specially for the purpose, picturesque pavilions representing every one of the states constituting the Soviet Union, each built in the characteristic style typical of the state, and a large number of specialist pavilions illustrating different aspects of agriculture such as livestock, grain, mechanization and a number of industrial crops such as cotton, sugar beets and potatoes. Even viticulture and wine-making were present. Most of the pavilions were spotless and well constructed; the exhibits were ingeniously demonstrated once one had got through the semi-political harangue that tended to precede each visit to the more technical demonstrations.

Moscow itself gave the impression of an enormous anthill which had had a stone thrown on it and was being put together again. Everywhere there were streets being pulled down and widened, avenues being planted with fully grown trees, houses being demolished and replaced by modern offices and apartments. An open space was shown to us as the site of what was to be the biggest children's store in the world. Roads were full of cars and people, all hurrying with rather earnest expressions on some errand or other. Public transport consisted of quite modern streetcars, buses and trolleybuses in addition to the metro, but all this seemed inadequate to take the masses of people, as almost all buses and streetcars were crammed to overflowing. The squalid houses in the old-fashioned streets and the wooden shacks in the outskirts were in marked contrast with the modern architecture of the new Moscow University and the municipal buildings, which were in a curious hybrid style rather like a skyscraper constructed in the manner of the Victorian age.

It is clear that any suggestion of the abstract tendency in modern art is studiously avoided in Russia at the present day; and this was equally evident in the Museum of Russian Art, where it became increasingly difficult to draw the line between a "picture" and a propaganda poster as the date of the painting advanced. But in the world of the theatre their achievements are supreme. The new

The opening day at the Soviet Agricultural Exhibition on Kolkhoz Square in Moscow

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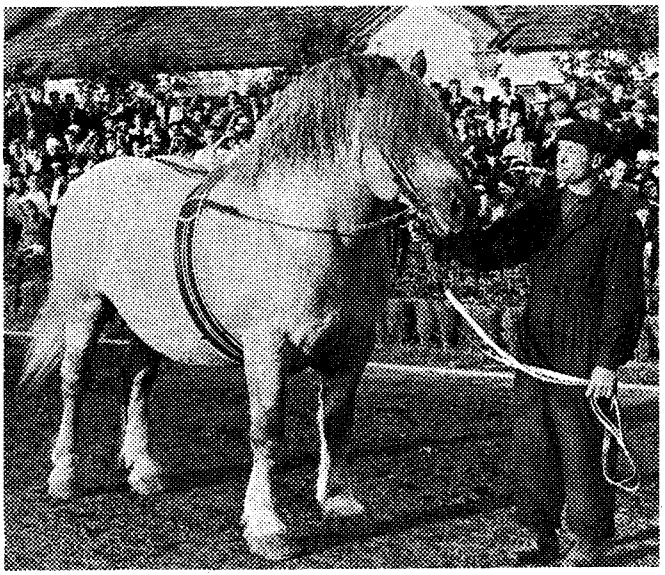
production of *Swan Lake* which we saw at the Stanislavsky Theatre put anything one has seen in Western Europe or America in the shade. Music, too, seems to be on a very high level, judging from the one symphony concert we were able to hear. Certainly David Oistrakh ranks with the greatest violinists in the world today. Thus we were quickly brought to correct any impression we might have had that everything in Soviet Russia would be drab and dreary, poor in quality and inefficient. Some of it was: the hygienic arrangements at Moscow Airport, for instance, which were reminiscent of the Orient before the introduction of modern sanitation. Other things were of a very high standard.

Are the people intelligent, one may be asked; why of course, some are and some are not. Some are just like the *mujiks* or peasants of which one heard so much in the



Satyr, a stallion belonging to the *Den Urozhaya* collective farm, shown with Stableman *Prosvirin*

days of the Czars. One thing stood out, however, on comparing them with their counterparts in other European cities, namely their standardization. In Paris, Rome or Vienna every individual is a law unto himself and displays his own individual reactions; it is usually enough to put up a notice "shut this door" to ensure that every second passerby will push it open. Not so in Moscow: there are no notices saying "put your waste-paper in the receptacle provided for the purpose" yet not a single piece of waste paper is to be seen on the walks and lawns of the park or the exhibition, and everyone puts it straight into the trash bins—being evidently trained to do so. Their questions tended also to run to a general pattern: "What are your yields of wheat?" they would ask, and "Have you seen the Moscow Metro?" being quite surprised and not a little disconcerted to be told that wheat and milk yields in Britain were higher than theirs and that cities such as London, New York and Paris had had metros long before they had.

The Genetics Controversy

By engaging in conversation of this kind, half-humorous, half-serious, it was possible during our short stay to form an impression of Russian thinking on a number of more vital matters. One of these was the so-called "genetics controversy."

Although the Russians today declare proudly that the Soviet Union is an industrial country, agriculture has always ranked very high in importance and great emphasis has always been placed on improving agricultural production. One of the means of doing this was the creation of new and improved strains of agricultural crop plants by plant breeding. This work was developed on a truly imposing scale in the early years after the October Revolution by N. I. Vavilov, a man of wide experience and vision who had studied at Cambridge University in England and was familiar with agricultural research work in other European countries and in the US. As director of the Institute of Plant Industry in Leningrad, he combed the world in search of material that would serve as a starting point for breeding and selection, traveling himself to the most inaccessible regions of the world and organizing collecting expeditions which brought back plants from all corners of the globe. From the rich material furnished by these many expeditions he built up the famous world collections of cultivated plants, which were a model of what should be done before undertaking any program of plant breeding. They also provided him with the basis for a new theory of the origin of cultivated plants which in general outline, if not in detail, gained acceptance by distinguished scientists throughout the civilized world.

Almost before the collections could be put to real use by the many competent geneticists at the Institute, however, the situation was suddenly changed by the advent of a new figure, T. D. Lysenko, a picturesque peasant who was the inventor of an agricultural technique known as vernalization, for which he made fantastic claims, some founded, many unfounded, and from which he went on to develop a new theory of heredity. In this he stressed the effect of environment and claimed that many of the effects obtained by subjecting a plant to a given set of external conditions could be transmitted to the progeny. Winter wheat, for instance, could be turned into spring wheat by sowing in the spring; hard wheat could be turned into soft wheat, soft into hard, and it was even claimed that wheat could be converted into rye or barley, all by applying the appropriate external conditions.

Now many competent geneticists in the Free World, and quite a number in the Soviet Union itself, had already experimented on the possibility of making such conversions and had failed. They protested that Lysenko's experiments were unconvincing and that more experimental data were required before the new theory would be accepted. Among those who protested most emphatically was N. I. Vavilov himself. But the protesters were ignored or silenced, and Lysenko's theory

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of the inheritance of environmentally produced effects, conforming as it did more closely with the Soviet doctrine of dialectical materialism, was accepted as the official doctrine of inheritance beyond the Iron Curtain.

Lysenko, helped by official backing, quickly rose to the top in the agricultural field. He gave great prominence to the work of I. V. Michurin, a successful horticulturist who, as the result of his successes in the practical field of breeding new varieties of fruit trees capable of growing in northerly latitudes, also denied the established Mendelian theory of inheritance and ascribed the major role in heredity transference to environment rather than inherent factors. The views of Michurin became incorporated in Lysenko's theory of inheritance and the two together became known as the Lysenko-Michurin doctrine.

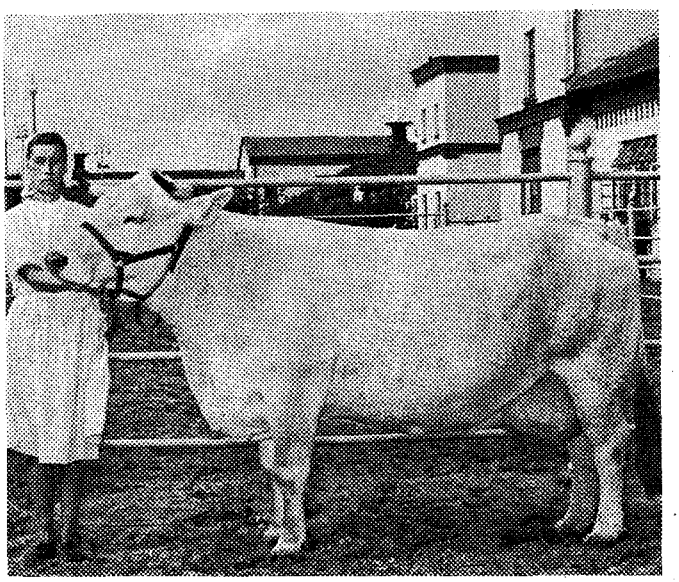
Lysenko replaced Vavilov as head of the Institute of Genetics of the Academy of Sciences in Moscow; Vavilov himself was arrested in 1940 and he and many of his colleagues died in the early years of the war; Lysenko became President of the Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences, Vice-President of the Higher Soviet and a member of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences. He reigned supreme in agricultural science and enjoyed the favor of Stalin, who read his manuscripts and approved his works before they were published. There may have been those in the USSR who were not in agreement with Lysenko and his views—we know indeed that there were. Their opinions, however, remained unheard and their work never reached the light of day.

Stalin Dies

Soon after the death of Stalin a change seemed to set in. A series of articles began to appear in the *Botanical Journal*, and later in other scientific journals, attacking some of Lysenko's theoretical tenets and results. A policy of "free discussion" was heralded, usually a sign in the USSR that someone is to be deposed. A commission set up to investigate Lysenko's report of a birch tree bearing alder leaves found the changes to be due to attack by the fungus *Exoascus betulinus*. The official organ of the Academy of Sciences itself criticized him on the grounds that no practical achievements in agriculture had emerged from the application of his theory. His protégé, Dmitriev, was relieved of his post and had his doctor's title, conferred in February, 1954, annulled. And worst of all, Premier Khrushchev ascribed no small part in the responsibility for the crisis in agriculture to the failure of Lysenko and his colleagues. Woe to one who fails in agriculture, as Malenkov was later to find himself.

In the summer of 1954 the position of Soviet genetics seemed to be in the balance. The Russian delegation to the International Botanical Congress in France comprised representatives of both Lysenko and Vavilov schools, and Glushchenko, representing the former, took the best part of two hours to answer yes or no to the question, "Do you still believe in interspecific conversion?" When finally pinned down and made to give a definite answer, he said yes. At the Agricultural Exhibition in Moscow in August of the same year, however, the first thing that struck us as significant was that the Director of the Exhibition was not Lysenko, nor Prezent, the great philosopher of Lysenkoism, but N. V. Cicin, the author of the so-called perennial wheats and originator of the wheat-couch hybrids since used with success in Canada and elsewhere. Now Cicin, while not being a Vavilov man, is certainly not a Lysenko follower, and very little had been heard of him during the heyday of Lysenko's power.

The second point that appeared significant was the prominence given in the Exhibition to the work of the Institute of Plant Industry: the stand illustrating the work of the Institute received pride of place in the main grain pavilion and some of the other specialist pavilions; por-



Hero of Socialist Labor *Smirnova*, a state farm milkmaid, with *Komsa*, a Kostroma cow

traits of several members of the Institute were displayed among those who had contributed to Soviet achievements in agricultural science and these portraits even included one of N. I. Vavilov himself. Stands were devoted to all the main breeding institutes, the work of many of which had not appeared in print during the Lysenko period, and Lysenko himself was shown merely as the Director of one of these many institutes.

Thanks to my knowledge of the language I was able to move around the pavilions and talk quite freely with those in charge, and the impression was quickly gained that they were pleased to talk openly and frankly on their subject. It was significant that none of them mentioned Lysenko but several of the Vavilov followers were referred to and their work praised. They were at pains to demonstrate the double-cross maize hybrids of the Institute of Plant Industry, produced by exactly the same methods as hybrid corn in the States and said to have outyielded all other corn varieties in comparative trials.

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Other achievements demonstrated with pride were polyploid buckwheat, hybrids of sunflower artichoke giving bumper yields of very juicy, tender stock feed, very promising monogerm sugar beets and, of course, the perennial wheats, which turned out to be not really perennial in our sense but gave ears in 3-4 successive years. The much-publicized branched wheats were also shown, but when asked why they wanted branched wheats they said they *thought* they ought to yield more and seemed surprised when told that we had tried them centuries ago and found they generally did not!

ONE of the most interesting visits was to the Michurin orchard, which proved to be a memorial to the famous fruit breeder and not merely a demonstration of his varieties. Indeed many of the 500 varieties displayed were not Michurin varieties, and some were found on inquiry to be hybrids produced by colleagues of Vavilov. The best of the grapes, for instance, was said to be Pobeda (Victory), a variety produced by Negrul by straightforward breeding methods having nothing to do with Michurin and his doctrine. Nevertheless, many of the famous Michurin varieties were on show and there seems to be little doubt as to his considerable achievements in the practical field. Thus the sweet cherry Krasa Severa (Northern Belle) was seen and sampled. There it was in late August bearing quantities of delicious sweet fruits, although it was stated that before Michurin's day only sour cherries would ripen fruit as far north as Moscow. On the other hand one of the apples said to have served as "the high-quality parent" in one of his crosses had been served for dessert the previous evening in the hotel and pronounced almost uneatable by most members of the delegation!

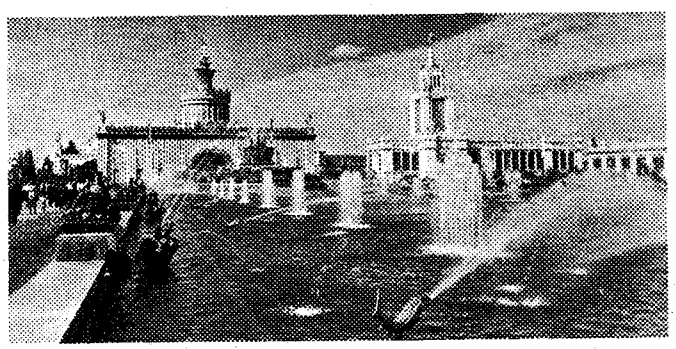
The fact remains that it is a considerable achievement to get fruit trees to grow in Siberia, and as in the famous example of Dr. Johnson and the woman preacher, it is like a dog standing on its hind legs: it is not done well, but the surprising thing is that it is done at all! The pear-apple hybrid, of which much has been heard in the press, proved to be not hybrid in the strict sense but an apple which, as a result of grafting on to a pear stock, had acquired a pear-like outgrowth at the tip, as opposed to the hollow found in most apples.

When inquiries were made as to the most important principles of the Michurin doctrine, much stress was placed on the use of parents which differ in geographical origin and produce what they refer to as "shattered" or "loosened" inheritance. This seems in essentials to be only another name for a phenomenon with which Western geneticists are familiar and for which they have their own terminology: "transgressive segregation" is one of the terms that has been used to describe it. The selection of seedlings under the conditions for which they are designed, which was also emphasized, again does not conflict with Western practice or theory. Indeed, the impression was gained that Michurin had been successful in producing fruit trees capable of bearing fruit under the very unfavorable growing conditions of much of the Soviet Union and that he is revered first and foremost for that, his theoretical concepts being a more secondary consideration. This distinguishes him from Lysenko, who talked much theory but is now out of favor because of the lack of practical results.

A year or so ago the words of Lysenko and Michurin were almost interchangeable, and all workers made a point of declaring their work to be based on the Michurin-Lysenko principles; this year we heard only the name Michurin. At a State Farm we visited, where the main activities are chicken and stock breeding, the director in his opening speech stated that the work was "based on the Michurin doctrine." When asked how this, a theory founded on fruit breeding, was related to livestock breeding, the chief poultry breeder stated, unabashed, that it implied selecting only the best individuals in each generation to breed from. She seemed quite taken aback when told that we did that too and called it Mendelism!

The general impression gained from all these talks was that by dropping the word Lysenko and retaining the word Michurin the official policy has made it possible to retreat from the extreme Lysenko standpoint, which has been disproved in many respects and has largely failed in practice. Under the name Michurinism it is possible to accommodate a wide assortment of different principles, since Michurin is dead and cannot answer back and say that is not what he meant at all. What is understood by Michurinism today is probably different for every single individual, but for a great number at least the concepts are not widely different, in essence if not in name, from what Western geneticists think; and in the practical application of these concepts the difference seems to be even narrower.

Whether the changes in the political set-up in the USSR since our visit last summer will tend to retard this process of rationalization in Soviet biological thinking or will accelerate it is, of course, a matter for speculation. He is a brave man who will engage in speculation on the future developments in the Soviet Union. All that can be ventured here is to point out that in that country, as indeed in all dictatorships throughout history, it would seem to be easier to fall from grace than to be reinstated.



The Stone Flower Fountain at the Agricultural Fair

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STATE OF THE UNION

Children Without Classrooms

by Edgar Fuller

THE House Committee on Education and Labor has been holding scattered hearings on federal aid for school construction since March 2. Both major political parties now favor federal financial assistance to the states for the construction of public elementary and secondary schools. The reasons are clear. There is a *cumulative* increase in enrollment approaching 1.5 million pupils each year. The local property tax is increasingly losing its ability to support the schools. Proceeds from it have become progressively less adequate, showing only a comparatively minor increase since 1939, while the national income has tripled. The schools cannot survive on a nearly obsolete tax base.

Other public services are financed in ways which give them access to the national income: public assistance, health and rehabilitation services and hospital and highway construction, to mention a few, do not depend on the property tax for their principal support. These services compete directly with education for state and local funds, in addition to their direct federal grants. The federal grants not only increase their total resources, but constitute unfair federal financial incentives to take away from the schools the local and state funds that they would otherwise be able to obtain.

"Glad to help—here's some swimming lessons"

To show how these discriminatory federal incentives work against the schools, let us illustrate by a poor county in a poor state which is able to bond itself for $1 million. This county can take its choice: a $3 million hospital, $2 million worth of roads, or a $1 million school. This is because the federal government will pay 2/3 of the cost of the hospital or ½ of the cost of the roads, but nothing to match local funds to build a school. With this double-barreled competition for state and local funds, schools cannot be built in adequate numbers in coming years without equitable treatment from the federal government.

Until 1950, the schools met the challenge fairly well by vigorously increasing state aid to education. The states' share of the national bill for public elementary and secondary education increased approximately 1 percent each year from 1935 to 1950. Now state aid has levelled off and the percentages of support stand at approximately 55 percent local, 42 percent state and 3 percent federal. State funds, now amounting to more than $3 billion annually in grants to local school districts, are increasingly difficult to obtain from state legislatures.

The basic reasons why federal aid must now be forthcoming are due to three circumstances. The first is that the federal budget ballooned because of World War II and Korea, and must remain high because of the Cold War. The federal government now collects more than 75 percent of all taxes. The second reason is that the large crops of war babies have entered the elementary grades in ever-increasing numbers during recent years. This flood of pupils increased the total elementary and secondary enrollments in public schools as much during the single school year 1955 as these enrollments increased during the entire two decades from 1930 to 1950. The third reason is, of course, the exceptional ability of the federal government to tap the national income, linked with the fact that the national income is no longer closely related either to income from real property or to its assessed valuation.

There is a remarkable consensus that the federal government can best aid the elementary and secondary schools by furnishing funds to assist the states and local districts in school construction. There are really only two types of legislation before the Congress, although there are scores of bills. One type is represented by the bipartisan Kearns-Bailey-Humphrey-Ives proposal (HR 14-15, S 480), which would authorize federal funds for the states according to the relative number of school-age children. The funds would be administered by the state educational agency under state plans and allocated to local school districts according to their relative needs, fiscal abilities and efforts to help themselves. School districts able to build their own schools would be left to do so.

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Under this bipartisan legislation, the states would make a fiscal accounting to the federal government for federal funds, but school-building standards would be left to the states and school districts. There would be no federal control over the buildings, much less any federal control over the educational programs later conducted in them.

This is the bipartisan legislation that has been through repeated hearings in both Democratic and Republican Congresses in recent years. It has the general support of educators and experts in educational finance. The bill sponsored by Sen. Lister Hill and a large number of fellow Senators differs only in comparatively minor details.

The second type of proposal is that of the Administration (S 968, HR 3770). This legislation was hastily contrived after President Eisenhower reversed his 1953 position in his State-of-the-Union message. It was introduced at the time of a special message to Congress on February 8, 1955, favoring immediate federal assistance for school construction. The consensus of informed opinion is that the Administration bill would not achieve the plain intention of the President's message to the Congress.

Most educators would like to salvage something from the Administration's proposal in order to keep the legislation bipartisan.

The major provisions of the Administration's bill, however, are highly objectionable because they impose or lead to higher costs, complex federal and state red tape, delays for special sessions of state legislatures in all states and court tests on constitutionality, too little financial aid and too much federal interference with the states. There are also those who think that an Administration which came to Washington ". . . to restore honesty and integrity in government" is not on solid moral grounds in requiring the states to enact laws which are obviously devices to evade state constitutions and laws. No chief state school officer or any educator with broad experience in the administration of educational finance has yet been brought forward by the Administration to support Title II of its bill, and the Administration's search for such support has been nationwide. Title II would fix an educational structure on every state as a condition for participation that can be defended for a few states which can do no better for themselves, but which for most states is undesirable.

Most important of all, the Administration's proposal runs counter to the trend in taxation which must be followed by the schools. It would pile greatly increased costs on the real property of local school districts in the form of rental obligations, including a surcharge to the federal government, interest and retirement of bonds, maintenance and operation costs and even the administrative expenses of the state school building agency.

Most of the opponents of federal funds for school construction join with the Administration in their desire to keep educational costs fixed on local real estate, with some aid from the states. Since the issues of tax funds for private schools and federal control of educational programs do not apply to construction of schools, opponents now boast that they will use a "non-segregation" amendment to defeat the legislation. For different reasons, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People also favors such an amendment. Together, these groups may be able to hold up the legislation temporarily unless Congress can be persuaded to leave definitions for enforcement of desegregation to the judiciary.

Children cannot wait. More than 4 million are being born each year and nearly 4 million become of school age each year. Many school buildings are obsolete or obsolescent. Population shifts bring additional needs. Construction of schools must go on without waiting for complete settlement of the segregation issue.

As the zeal of the NAACP makes itself felt in regard to federal funds for hospitals, health services, public assistance and in other fields, along with education, Congress will undoubtedly find itself under increasing pressure to decide about the proper function of the proposed "desegregation" amendments in all fields.

There is no real reason to delay construction of schools. New schools tend to be larger and more centrally located. On the balance, they will facilitate integration rather than deter it, and they will also make the transition easier wherever it occurs. There can be no successful integration in an antiquated school with 40 or 50 pupils in a room. There can be, in a modern school plant. New plants will not in the long run entrench dual systems.

If the desegregation issue should temporarily delay the federal assistance which elementary justice demands, Congress will come to realize that the temporary alliance between the NAACP and the diehards who do not want to pay for schools constitutes a minority of the voters.

Public Elementary and Secondary School Enrollments

1930	25,678,000
1940	25,434,000
1950	25,111,000
1951	25,706,000
1952	26,532,000
1953	27,739,000
1954	29,183,000
1955	30,653,000

Source: from "Statistics of State School Systems," US Office of Education, through 1952; estimates for later years by US Office of Education.

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Homosexuality and British Opinion

by Tom A. Cullen

THAT the British are subject to "periodical fits of morality" was noted over a century ago by Macaulay in his essay on Byron. "Once in six or seven years," Macaulay wrote, "our virtue becomes outrageous." A whipping-boy is demanded, one who can be "cut by the higher orders, and hissed by the lower."

Thus public opinion decrees that one offender should "stand the risks of a lottery of infamy, that 99 out of every hundred should escape. . . ."

Such a cycle of outraged morality, this time directed against homosexual offenders, has just run its course in Britain, but with rather unexpected results. For instead of sinking back into self-complacency, the public is demanding that light be thrown on the tenebrous subject of homosexuality. And yielding to this demand, the Home Secretary has appointed a committee of 15 barristers, doctors, clergymen and social workers to inquire into the existing laws relating to homosexual offenses and prostitution, and to report what changes, if any, are desirable.

But, first, the public was offered its whipping-boy in the person of its finest Shakespearian actor. "Self-employed clerk" he gave as his occupation for the police blotter, but *Who's Who in the Theatre* is kinder; it devotes 267 lines, or nearly two and a half pages, to his stage career. In the cruel, gray light of the West London courtroom, and minus his stage make-up, he might easily have been mistaken for a clerk, one who had caught a glimpse of baldness in a mirror, and who had taken flight in an alcoholic fugue.

But now he was sober enough, and penitent, this actor whose specialty was contorted princes and Restoration dandies. "I cannot imagine I was so stupid," he mumbled. "I was tired . . . I had a few drinks." Five months earlier he had stood in Buckingham Palace to be knighted by the Queen. "For services to the theatre," the Coronation honors list read. He had stood on a platform with the late Signor de Gasperi to be honored by Oxford University as Doctor of Literature. Now he heard himself described as "dangerous to other men," his conduct branded as "a scourge in this neighborhood." Fining the actor 10 pounds for "persistently importuning male persons for immoral purposes," the magistrate warned him, "See your doctor the minute you leave here."

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The actor hurried from the courtroom, but not quickly enough to escape the magistrate's final, stinging rebuke. "I hear something like 600 of these cases a year," he complained. "I begin to think they ought to be sent to prison as they were in the old days. . . ."

The public reaction to the actor's fall from valor was one of stunned silence. One read of these things in the press occasionally, usually cases involving prominent persons: an ex-army major and Member of Parliament joins the "Chiltern Hundreds" after being fined for importuning in a public convenience; a peer of the realm, third baron of his line, sentenced to a year's imprisonment for gross indecency. *But 600 cases a year—and in a single police court!* Surely the magistrate was in error.

Reports from assize courts in other British cities, however, were not long in pouring in: Norfolk—"it is perfectly appalling that our calendars are packed full of indecent assault and gross indecency between males"; Leeds—"a great black blot on the national life, getting bigger and bigger"; Hereford—"like a disease sweeping the country"; Falmouth—"my calendar includes 19 men charged with this offense."

Police statistics merely confirmed the reports. They showed that the number of homosexual offenses known to police in England and Wales had risen from 1,280 in 1938 to 5,443 in 1952, an increase of nearly 400 percent. "There is a homosexual underground in most of Britain's largest cities," Sir Robert Boothby, Tory M.P., recently told the Hardwicke Society of the Middle Temple Bar. "We have reached a situation in which no man with regard for his reputation will dare enter a public urinal after dark. The number of male prostitutes parading our streets is a by-word in every other country, and a disgrace in our own."

Suddenly everyone seemed to be talking at once. The cautious and conservative *Sunday Times* spoke up to give "sound knowledge and guidance on this tangled matter." The Church of England took a stand; for over a year its Moral Welfare Council, sponsored by the Lord Bishop of St. Albans, had been studying the problem of homosexuality. The British Medical Association and The Magistrates' Association added their voices. The BBC even sanctioned a broadcast on the subject.

The public debate was on.

From the cocoons of secrecy and silence with which it had been wrapped for centuries the subject of homosexuality was brought into the open for serious consideration.

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FEW subjects evoke so great an emotional response as that of homosexuality. It must be admitted that for the average person an objective approach is impossible. When he considers the problem at all, the ordinary Briton does so with distaste that borders on horror. Not for nothing was homosexuality stigmatized by the ecclesiastical courts as "the abominable crime not to be mentioned among Christians," and made punishable by death. It was death in the ecclesiastical courts until the reign of Henry VIII; death again by statute (with a lapse from 1547 to 1563) until 1828. Until well into the nineteenth century attempted homosexuality was punished by the pillory—a torture designed to make some of its victims wish fervently for death. Even today some magistrates suggest that, with the possible exception of a murderer, the practicing homosexual is the greatest of all criminals.

The present British laws relating to homosexual offenses were enacted at least 70 years ago, or long before the discoveries of modern psychological medicine. The penalties prescribed by the "Offenses Against the Person" Act of 1861 (life imprisonment or 10 years) are so severe that many judges hesitate to impose them. This has tended to bring the law, itself, into disrepute. As for the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885, its famous Section 11, known as "The Blackmailer's Charter," today is the chief target of those who seek the law's reform. (It was under this section that Oscar Wilde was tried and convicted.) Section 11 makes it a criminal offense for consenting adult males to commit a homosexual act in public *or in private*. (Nothing is said about females; thus, lesbianism is not punishable as a criminal offense in England.) Such conduct in public had always been punishable at common law, but Section 11 introduces a novel principle.

In no other sphere of life does the State hold itself competent to interfere with the private actions of consenting adults, with the possible exception of incest, which is biologically and domestically anti-social. As the Church of England Moral Welfare Council points out: "A man and woman may commit the grave sin of fornication with legal impunity. . . . [Yet] fornication and adultery threaten the well-being of society still more seriously than homosexual practices."

Ironically, Section 11 was slipped as an amendment into an act designed to curb white slavery and to regulate brothels. Today, nearly 70 years after its passage, some of its evil effects are noted by the *Sunday Times*: "Homosexuality is a rich pasture for the blackmailer; for the social stigma and the legal penalty of disclosure are alike terrifying to the wretched invert. . . One may well ask whether, in regard to consenting acts between adult males, the truth is not that the real offense is to be found out. . . ."

Today there is a noticeable change in the climate of public opinion. Faced with the fiasco of present laws to stamp out homosexuality, many Britons are beginning to question the laws themselves as "medieval." What is needed, they claim, is a revision of the laws along the lines of the Code Napoleon, which takes no cognizance of homosexual acts between consenting adults.

This has placed Her Majesty's government in a dilemma, and nowhere is this dilemma more clearly illustrated than in the person of Sir David Maxwell Fyfe, until recently Home Secretary and now, as Lord Kilmuir, Lord Chancellor. The son of a Highland schoolmaster and brought up on Scotch Calvinism, Sir David is frankly bewildered by what he calls "this Mad Century." Everywhere he sees the breakdown of law and order. As a family man, Sir David views homosexuality chiefly as a source of corruption for youth. "And so long as I am Home Secretary," he pledged, "I shall give no countenance . . . to such a danger."

But Sir David also expresses a fear that lurks in many minds: that homosexuality is not only morally, but biologically decadent, and that a society with a high proportion of unnaturalness is doomed. Music hall comedians may joke about it, Noel Coward write lyrics about "the flower of a bulldog nation," but there are clubs in Pall Mall where it is still considered bad form to mention the name of Oscar Wilde. As recently as October, 1954, when a plaque was unveiled at No. 34 Tite Street where Wilde once lived in London, his detractors seized the occasion to remind the world that Wilde was "the most notorious pervert of modern times," and that his Christian name had become "a term of derision among sailors."

THE TRUTH is that the bulldog nation has never quite forgiven Oscar for affronting its manhood. Wilde's real crime in the eyes of the British was that he attacked "all the wholesome, manly, simple ideals of English life," preferring "the incense-laden air of secret chambers curtained from the light of day." In Britain the male is sacrosanct, and any attempt to tamper with his manliness is severely punished. This explains the tendency in this patrist, or male-dominated culture, to ignore or tolerate female prostitution, while punishing male importuning. A woman prostitute is liable to a maximum fine of two pounds (the equivalent of $6), while the male prostitute may be fined or imprisoned for two years as a "rogue and vagabond."

This also explains the recent outburst of Viscount Samuel in the House of Lords. On the eve of his 83rd birthday, Lord Samuel arose to point out that "the vices of Sodom and Gomorrah appear to be rife among us." This elder statesman, who had witnessed the social habits of the Victorian and Edwardian eras, now turned his piercing stare on the morals of the new Elizabethan age. "Retribution," he thundered, "will not be found in earthquake or conflagration, but in something more deadly—

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an insidious poisoning of the moral sense." When he finished speaking, their Lordships did something rare. They cheered.

Meanwhile, the Sir David Maxwell Fyfes and the Lord Samuels, in their efforts to "get tough" with homosexual offenders, are caught up in a vicious cycle. Police campaigns against homosexuality have failed to eradicate it. In fact, they have merely intensified the squalor by which it is surrounded and widened the areas in which it prevails. Nor has imprisonment acted as a deterrent. Britain's prison population today is the highest in 75 years. Some 5,000 male prisoners are sleeping three to a cell. To commit an invert to prison under such circumstances is like "giving a chronic alcoholic occupational therapy in a brewery," in the words of Sir Robert Boothby.

There is also "a real danger of public opinion being inflamed to the point of demanding persecution in addition to prosecution," according to the Moral Welfare Council of the Church of England.

This group of Anglican clergy, doctors and lawyers has been examining the problem of homosexuality in all of its aspects for more than a year now. It is this group which is largely responsible for Sir David Maxwell Fyfe, as Home Secretary, ordering an inquiry at governmental level. In an interim report the Moral Welfare Council declares that homosexuality, in itself, is "morally neutral, but it may . . . find expression in various homosexual acts upon which a moral judgment must be passed." Present laws, the council finds, impose "a burden of guilt upon a . . . minority of people in the main inoffensive, often talented and socially useful." The invert is "peculiarly susceptible to blackmail." In this connection, the council views "as a matter of grave concern" the number of suicides among homosexuals. In advocating that present legal anomalies regarding homosexuality be abolished, the council favors defining the "age of consent" for males as 21, below which age any homosexual approach would be regarded as seduction and severely punished as such.

Finally, the *Church of England Newspaper* has had some harsh things to say about the use of police as decoys or *agents provocateurs* in cases of male importuning. "These [the police] may interpret a look, a simple gesture, or a smile in the way they please and put their own construction upon it in court," the newspaper suggests.

BRITISH public opinion was profoundly shocked by the police methods used to secure evidence in the Montagu case last year. Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, 27, his cousin, Major Pitt-Rivers, and a journalist, Peter Wildeblood, were convicted of serious offenses. The trio were given prison sentences ranging from one year to 18 months for having incited two Royal Air Force men to commit unnatural acts. During the trial police admitted that they had broken into Lord Montagu's flat in London without a search warrant, had read through a bundle of letters written to Lord Montagu by the young woman to whom he was engaged. "We have been encouraged to believe that [the inviolability of a citizen's home from search without a warrant] to be the vital difference between a Police State and a democracy," commented the *Sunday Express*.

But even more shocking to the British sense of fair play was the use of the two airmen as "Queen's Witnesses" to secure the convictions, in return for a promise of immunity. The airmen were known to have been involved with 24 other men in similar offenses, yet both of them went free. As the *Sunday Times* pointed out:

> The accomplices [were] equally guilty with the accused of whatever acts were proved between them. We may well ponder . . . the fact that one set of parties goes free while the other takes the punishment. . . . Accomplices' evidence is always tainted, requiring corroboration, and perhaps more so in homosexual cases than in any other class.

The most interesting aspect of the Montagu case, however, was all but overlooked by the press. One of Oscar Wilde's biographers describes the scenes which took place when Wilde was convicted. "In the streets outside Old Bailey," he wrote, "harlots lifted their skirts and danced to the vociferous cheers of the ever-virtuous British public." Sixty years later a crowd of 300, including women and children, gathered in the forecourt of the Winchester Assizes, where Lord Montagu had just been sentenced to a year's imprisonment. This time, there were no harlots on hand to caper joyfully. Instead of cheers, the public jeered the accomplices whose testimony had sent the peer to jail. The two airmen put on dark glasses, muffled their faces with scarves and made a dash across the courtyard to a waiting police car. "But," reports the *London Daily Mail*, "the car had to reverse several times before it could leave the crowded car park, and the shouting and jeering continued. . . . During this time the airmen crouched low on the back seat and covered themselves with a travelling rug."

From cheers to jeers in six decades—the cycle of outraged morality of which Macaulay wrote has come full swing, but with a difference. This time it is the law, itself, which is the target of public censure. The *Sunday Times* sums it up:

> The law, it would seem, is not in accord with a large mass of public opinion. That condition always brings evil in its train: contempt for law, inequity between one offender and another, the risk of corruption of the police . . . The case for a reform of the law as to acts committed in private between adults is very strong. The case for authoritative inquiry into it is overwhelming.

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The Superficial Aspect

THE FUND for the Republic has made, under the direction of Samuel A. Stouffer, a study of "Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties" that deserves more space than is here available, for it is full of surprising, interesting and sometimes highly diverting lore. I mention only two aspects of it because, although they are both minor, they strike a superficial observer with great force. One is the relativity of our general interests, the other is the psychology of the South.

The two separate but parallel polls on which the study is based sneaked up, so to speak, on the respondents. The poll-takers did not begin by explaining what they were investigating; among the first questions they asked two were:

> Would you say that you worry more now than you used to, or not as much?
>
> What kind of things do you worry most about?

Among more than 6,000 Americans who answered, less than 1 percent mentioned either Communism or the threat to civil liberties.

The polls were taken in the first half of 1954 when the row over Peress, the Army dentist, was at its height. One question, pretty far down on the list, mentioned that the papers were full of Congressional investigations into Communism and asked the respondent to name one member of Congress prominently involved in the investigations. Almost a third, 30 percent, could not remember a single name, not even that of McCarthy!

This figure astonishes even a shop-worn newspaperman, who would have expected 15 percent and would have accepted 20 percent without demur; but that 30 percent of the people missed anything as gaudy as McCarthy is disconcerting. Liberalism is notoriously weak on polemics, but to learn that McCarthy's publicity methods are barely 70 percent effective is something of a jolt. It deflates the pride of all experts in the art, from evangelists to advertising men.

By a complicated system of cross-reference through a long list of questions the study divides its group of people into the intolerant, the so-so, and the more or less tolerant of political and religious non-conformists, and it finds that when you discover a notably tolerant American the statistical probability is that he is young, well educated, and Western. The East, the Middle West and the South follow in that order.

What puzzles the investigators is that while the figures for the Western and Southern groups show a wide disparity, the pattern is almost exactly the same. That is to say, the young are more tolerant than the old, men than women, college graduates than the barely literate in the South as in the West. The presence of a large racial minority in the South occurred to them at once as a possible explanation, but it didn't work out because the pattern applies to Southern Negroes as well as to Southern whites. In the end they threw up their hands with the comment:

> There is something in Southern culture that tends to differentiate Southerners, in cities as well as rural areas, at all educational levels, from all other regional groups.

About that there is no argument. It is known of all men that the South remains the one great fortress of faith in hell, hanging and calomel; but is there really any mystery about why it should be so? Superficially, at least, it seems plain enough, and these investigators missed it because their approach was contemporary, while the explanation is historical. The South is the only one of the four regions that has experienced invasion, conquest and defeat.

Certainly it happened 90 years ago, but the battle of the Boyne happened four times as long ago, yet its impress upon Ireland is still plain. Every careful analyst of American politics—V. O. Key, for a conspicuous example—is impressed by the enduring quality of regional and sectional attitudes, which not only persist in natives but exhibit much of the power of Chinese civilization to absorb new arrivals. Very nearly if not quite the most perfect specimen of the Southern gentleman of my acquaintance came to the South from Minnesota some 40 years ago; and the genius who made the Ku Klux Klan a stunning financial success in the twenties was an importation from the Middle West.

A COUNTRY that has lain for 10 years under the hobnailed boots of an army of occupation is drained of a good deal of its optimism, which is the basis of tolerance. When you have seen an entire political and social structure subverted by the bayonet, it takes time, much time, to restore your faith in the final perseverance of reason over force. Even if the subversion was to your advantage, as in the case of the Southern Negroes, you know beyond peradventure that the thing can be done—that violence is in the natural order of things.

But it has this advantage—when a Southerner does evolve into a liberal, he is the sturdiest, most unshakeable liberal on earth. Like the saints, he is one who has come up through great tribulation, and he is up to stay.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

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BOOKS & COMMENT

A Critic On Wheels

by Ridgely Cummings

WHEN I was in Detroit a few years ago, helping to make an experimental movie at Cranbrook Art School, I met a writer named Dave Bachrach who had a favorite slogan which he repeated until it became part of my consciousness too.

Dave's slogan was: "Function determines character."

With this insight he should have gone on to do big things but the fact remains that I haven't heard of Dave in four years. Last time I saw him I was leaving town to make a trip through the Great Lakes as a deckhand on an ore boat. He was bound for Paris, where perhaps he is still busy writing lasting literature that hasn't yet come my way.

Now I am driving a taxi over the freeways and boulevards of Greater Los Angeles and I keep remembering Dave's dictum. Function determines character and since my function is transporting passengers for hire, I suppose my character will soon assume certain undesirable commercial lineaments.

Which leads me to the point in hand, that, like writers, cab drivers as a breed are no exception to the rule, though they do get around more than most people. And at least one of them (not counting me) is a reader of unusual books.

The other sunny afternoon toward the end of my nine hour shift I was sitting in my cab on Stand 444 in the Silver Lake District. Mine seemed to be the only cab in the area and I had been pretty busy, carrying shoppers from the markets to their homes up in the hills and from the hills down to the bus line.

The phone rang, an order to pick up a woman at an address on one of the tortuous little streets that overlook the city reservoir. I brought her down to the bus stop, where she wanted to go, and then pulled back to the stand. There I found another cab ahead of me, with the driver sitting in the back seat of his cab reading.

I parked second up and went over to say hello. The driver was a slender, dark-haired chap of thirty or thirty-five. He was wearing steel-rimmed glasses which gave his face a bony, arid look.

He wasn't glad to see me, which was understandable, for I represented competition. He made it plain that during working hours he would rather enjoy the company of someone other than a rival cab driver, preferably a lucrative passenger.

It was another case of function determining character traits.

To put him at ease I remarked that I was due in the garage soon, which was true, and that I didn't care if I got any more orders that day or not, which was definitely a fib for I hadn't made my book yet and needed a few more fares.

His competitive instincts somewhat allayed, the driver handed me the book he was reading and began praising it. The title was *The Ecstasy of Owen Muir*.

"It's by Ring Lardner Junior," he said. "You've heard of him. He was one of the Hollywood Ten."

I'd heard of Lardner all right. When I first landed in Hollywood he was still something of a hero. But the political climate had changed since then. The cold war had grown warmer. Hollywood actors, directors and writers had been investigated and re-investigated so many times, and so many of them had been fired and black-listed, that the subject was one reserved for discussion with close and trusted friends. I played it cool.

"The Hollywood Ten," I replied. "That rings a bell. It reminds me of Humphrey Bogart and Lauren Bacall. And Dore Schary."

"No, those three weren't in the Ten, though they went to Washington to help them out. The Ten were a bunch of movie writers who were called before the McCarthy Committee, though I don't think McCarthy was the head of it then. That was in 1947. Young Lardner was one of them."

"Didn't he have a brother who was killed in Spain, fighting for the Loyalists?"

The driver looked at me suspiciously.

"Why drag politics into it?" he demanded. "What do you know about the Loyalists? Some of them were good people."

"Wait a minute," I protested. "I'm not knocking the Loyalists. Anyway it's your book, not mine. I never even heard of it before."

"You won't either," the driver said. "There's a conspiracy of silence about it. This copy was printed in England. I hear Lardner couldn't get an American publisher to touch it."

JUST then a woman laden with groceries staggered up to the cab. The driver jumped out, held open the door for her, and took off.

A few minutes later a drunk weaved out of a nearby liquor store and wanted me to take him to a dive on Main Street. I didn't get back to Silver Lake that day and haven't seen that particular cab driver since, though that's not hard to understand when one realizes there are 2400 taxi pilots in L.A. and we try to stay away from each other.

But I had been alerted to the book. I tried to get it in the library, with no luck. Then it slipped my mind until the other day my copy of *Frontier* magazine was delivered. This is a West Coast monthly for which I've written in the past. I subscribed to it out of my first check from them but they still owe me for an article and if they don't pay up before my sub expires I won't renew. In the magazine, under the title of "Odd Man Out in the Garrison State," Lardner's novel was reviewed, quite favorably, by Matthew Josephson.

In the few minutes I had skimmed through the book I hadn't read enough to form an opinion, but Josephson hailed it as a fine satire, an American *Candide* or *Don Quixote*. Only thing that got me about Josephson's review was that he seemed to contradict himself.

One of Josephson's concluding sentences went: "Nevertheless, *The Ecstasy of Owen Muir* is the work of a writer of intelligence and talent who prods vigorously at many of our most Sacred Cows."

Another sentence read: "*The Ecstasy of Owen Muir*, though essentially good-humored and respectful in its treatment

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of our social institutions, was rejected by our leading publishers."

How, I wondered, could a writer prod vigorously at our Sacred Cows and still treat them with good-humored respect?

The answer came in a recent issue of the *Saturday Review*. For, despite the cab driver's statement that there was a conspiracy of silence on Lardner's book, this influential literary weekly also examined it critically. The difference in approach was indicated in the title of the review, "One Man's Bungles." Here the reviewer said of the book that "it is militantly anti-business, anti-church, and in general sour on our society."

That is okay with me. Our society is far from perfect and needs criticism, plenty of it. But there was one sentence in the *Saturday Review* estimate of Lardner's book which reminded me of the "function determines character" axiom. It was: "The special flavor of this book relates to the fact that the only institution not castigated is the Communist Party."

Ring Lardner Junior's political opinions are his own business. He went to jail rather than answer questions about them. He came out, after nine months in the Federal pen, to find his motion-picture contract cancelled. It was a big price to pay for invoking his constitutional rights.

I'll have to read the book carefully to be sure, but at this point I have the feeling that Lardner is another example of the truth of my friend Dave's dictum, that what you do determines what you are. And certainly what happens to a writer goes a long way towards determining how he writes and what he writes about.

The next time you're in L.A. and see a cab driver sitting by a phone reading a book, take a good look. If the book has "Ecstasy" in the title, the driver may be me. I'll be trying to find out if Lardner's unpleasant experiences in behalf of his convictions have soured him on our society or if he is merely examining the system with good-humored respect.

The Taste of a Hot Potato

by Frances Lanahan

IN an age when the reading public seems to insist on mediocrity in fiction—when most of our best-sellers so much resemble one another in style and lassitude that if their pages were shuffled and the names of their characters interchanged, it would take the authors themselves to sort them out again

The Ecstasy of Owen Muir, by Ring Lardner, Jr. (Cameron & Kahn; $3).

—in such an age, this first novel by Ring Lardner, Jr. has the freshness of an astringent mouthwash.

The *Ecstasy of Owen Muir* is as odd and provocative as its title. It is a catalog of objects of the author's scorn, brilliantly satiric when he springs to the attack, exasperatingly cryptic when he consolidates his own defenses. For wit, originality, style, and dramatic sense of plot, Mr. Lardner is second to no contemporary novelist. His technique is in fact so dazzling as almost to obscure the fact that he seldom makes any affirmative point at all.

Owen Muir himself is partly a symbol —of the confused young man unable to face reality in the midst of conflicting pressures—and partly a caricature of an unstable personality, driven by his own emotions to embrace extremes. He is the well-intentioned only son of a rich, narrow-minded business man, but because of his high IQ, his sensitivity, and the physical unattractiveness which makes him a lonely figure throughout his childhood, he can't fit into the family circle which is the butt of Mr. Lardner's most withering sarcasm. Under the influence of Tolstoy's non-combatant philosophy, he refuses to register for the draft in World War II, and is sentenced to two years in a federal correctional institution. When an act of violence he witnesses in prison convinces him that evil must be resisted by force, he joins the Army and surprises himself by his own bravery during the Battle of Normandy. From the end of the war on, his life is a pathetic, often comical search for perfect peace. The master stroke of irony comes in the final paragraph, when the author makes it clear that in losing himself to his own Absolute Truth, Owen has gained exactly nothing.

The moral of this tale (if, indeed, it has one) is expressed just once by Owen's wife, one of the few females in post-war fiction not stuffed with sawdust and turned into a skirt-wearing automaton. "You talk a lot about love of God," April Muir says contemptuously to Owen,

> . . . but God is an abstraction that means one thing to one person and nothing at all to somebody else, and it's only guesswork whether He gives a damn whether we love Him or not. As for love of country, it always gets mixed up with love of a particular government that happens to be in power, and it can be used to justify anything from napalm bombing to making Jews into soap.
>
> The kind of love I trust is a love of people.

It is this love of people, or love of people who prefer people to various dogmas and ideas, which illuminates the book and elevates it above a series of Quixotic tilts at such well-worn targets as the Catholic Church, FBI informers, psychiatrists, and Babbitty business men.

Being essentially political, this will be a controversial book—the more so because its author, then a successful screenwriter, went to jail in 1950 for refusing to answer questions about his personal beliefs and associations before the House Committee on un-American Activities. Its political implications would make a stimulating topic for a debating society, since there is material here to argue both of the following points of view:

1. As Mr. Lardner has concentrated his venom on just those forces which first recognized the danger of Communism, and as he has chosen in one of his most vivid scenes to contrast the "peaceable" intentions of the audience at an outdoor Paul Robeson concert with the "vicious" retaliations of a protesting faction, he is clearly trying, with a certain bitterness, to justify his admiration for the Communist party, and

2. As Mr. Lardner throughout the book preaches moderation, understanding, and compassion for one's fellow man, he is actually repudiating *all* dogmatic and authoritarian regimes, without lowering his dignity to the point of openly turning his back on a movement with which he has been friendly.

I incline toward the latter view, with the reservation that here is a mind more subtle and complex by far than the aver-

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age man's, and therefore difficult to pigeon-hole—and with the further reservation that as far as the talent, virtuosity, and humor of the author are concerned, it doesn't matter. It *does* matter that the novel has been received in this country, by booksellers and book reviewers both, like a subversive hot potato that might scorch the fingers of tender Americans. We haven't so much literary genius around these days that we can afford to dismiss a writer as gifted as Mr. Lardner, just because we don't agree with all that he currently has to say.

Franklin Roosevelt's Apprenticeship

by Frances Perkins

IN this account of Franklin D. Roosevelt as Governor of New York, Mr. Bellush has written an impressive introduction to the man who, a few years after the period of this study, became President of the United States and established what is popularly and almost accidentally known as the New Deal. The author wisely handles the political aspects of this history, although he tends to think of the New Deal as a philosophical and political entity which it never was.

Franklin D. Roosevelt as Governor of New York, by Bernard Bellush (Columbia; $3.50).

The writer says, "the seeds of the New Deal were first planted by a graduate of Tammany Hall, four times a Governor of New York, Alfred E. Smith." His theme is how the seeds Roosevelt found in 1928 in the State of New York grew and flourished under his gardener's green thumb. As one who lived through that period in Albany from 1929 to 1933, and had lived through the entire period of the Smith Governorship, the present reviewer is grateful that the writer has dug out of the archives and records matters that have been quite forgotten by most people.

Roosevelt made steady headway with all the programs that Al Smith left him. Bellush fortunately makes no effort to compare or contrast the two men from the Empire State—the richest community and perhaps also the most progressive in the USA. Their reforms sprang out of the writings and thinking of many adventurous souls in the early twentieth century and stemmed from a conviction that in modern society it is what happens to the people themselves that matters.

Roosevelt made a vastly more active campaign for Governor than Smith or the Democratic leaders had thought possible and impressed his personality as a new kind of Democrat unridden by Tammany. His vigor and intelligence largely overcame the handicap of the Republican charge that he was a cripple and an invalid. In the first years of Roosevelt's governorship he faced now almost forgotten but horrible and unexpected crises. The wholly unexpected outbreak in the first six months of prison riots at Dannemora, and a week later at Auburn Prison furnished the new Administration with well-nigh overwhelming problems. Smith's efforts to establish some modern reforms in the prisons had been opposed by the legislature. However, those recommendations, combined with those of Roosevelt's investigator after the riots, providing for enlargements of prison accommodations, a system of incentives in the form of time off, and a humanitarian but thorough parole system were finally passed.

The scandal in the New York Banking Department in March, 1929, which involved the City Trust Co. also involved Banking Superintendent Warder by rumor. Roosevelt announced that at the expiration on July 1 of Warder's term he would appoint Joseph A. Broderick, a man of considerable banking experience and government service as State Bank Examiner and as Chief Examiner of the Federal Reserve System, to be the Superintendent of Banks of the State of New York. No real evidence had been demonstrated of the incumbent superintendent's involvement but the situation was uneasy. Following the announcement that Broderick would be appointed his successor, Warder suddenly resigned.

The political excitement with regard to the Moreland Act investigation by Robert Moses and its disclosures involving a judge of the Court of General Sessions and the discrediting of the Banking Superintendent was one of the now forgotten but vitally significant and educative experiences of Roosevelt's first term as Governor. His response included the placing of all private banks under State supervision, the segregation and trusteeing of savings accounts in commercial banks and a general tightening of administration in the supervision of banking.

Mr. Bellush is critical of Governor Roosevelt's handling of the banking crises in New York State, because he failed to insist on the segregation of savings accounts and the imposition of criminal liabilities on banking directors; also because the Commission he appointed to revise banking laws was loaded with bankers, who although reputable and honorable, were, Mr. Bellush thinks, naturally inclined to give the banking fraternity the edge. The author's suggestion that there should have been a labor representative on the Commission is doctrinaire and unlikely. At that date (1930) there were positively no labor men in New York State with the slightest knowledge or skill in fiscal matters.

His rebuke for Roosevelt's failure to appoint Robert Moses to the Commission is sound, since Moses had made the investigation report and recommendations. The Governor, however, learned a great deal at this period about banking and its regulations, its complexities both political and economic. It was undoubtedly the experiences of this tragic

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era and his great reliance upon Lt. Governor Lehman that gave Roosevelt the convictions and certainty which enabled him to act promptly for the Government of the United States when he took office as President in March, 1933, and closed the banks.

The enormous amount of detail and house-keeping which falls to the Governor of any state and particularly the State of New York comes out clearly in this book. The administration of hospitals, prisons, homes for the care of children, institutions for the feeble-minded, for the insane all called for knowledge and common sense and required diplomacy in the actions of the Governor. New York State brought Governor Roosevelt face to face with farm problems as acute as those of any Western state, and at the same time with labor problems of the great industrial cities.

It was during this period that Roosevelt impressed the farm leaders of the West with his knowledge of what the farmer is up against. Roosevelt's proposals largely followed Governor Smith's but with great enthusiasm for a forestry program of conservation.

IN Mr. Bellush's opinion the occasion of the serious political split between Smith and Roosevelt was this conservation program. Smith spoke out vigorously against some of the aspects of it, particularly, Item 3, known as the Hewitt Amendment, for the establishment as a continuing program of a mandatory fixed schedule of State appropriations so that the best suited lands for reforestation could be selected from all parts of the State. Ex-Governor Smith announced that this would put New York into the lumber business, since it authorized the State to cut and sell trees on the lands which it was to buy and reforest. Conservationists all over the country rallied to the support of Roosevelt.

By this time, in early 1931, it was clear that the nation was in a serious depression. Smith's friends thought that any Democrat would be elected, and that this was the time to give him the second run. Whether Smith had set his heart upon that is not clear, but at any rate by this time James A. Farley was actually seeking support for Roosevelt in the Democratic Party throughout the nation. This clash between Roosevelt and Smith on conservation was the first outward expression of their developing rift.

The Governor's activity for farm reforms was striking. His efforts to raise the income and standard of living of farmers in New York and to solve some of their most pressing difficulties kept him abreast of the wisest of the farm leaders. M. L. Wilson came into his sphere at this time, and undoubtedly the farm leader's support for Roosevelt's ideas were felt throughout the country.

MR. BELLUSH points out that almost from the beginning of Roosevelt's period as Governor the economic decline was brewing. He also points out that the Governor would take no stock in the idea of a collapse. He believed fundamentally that everything was sound and "would be all right." But apparently the Federal Reserve Board was warning banks and speculators that loans should be cut, and the stock market crash came in October, 1929, less than a year after Roosevelt became Governor. Roosevelt plainly believed at that time that a recovery would take place almost automatically and that while "the stock market had been too high, it would adjust itself."

Mr. Bellush points out that while Roosevelt had been receptive to new ideas about slum clearance and farm reform, to administrative reforms in the prisons, banking and conservation departments, he came to the Governorship without formalized economic principles and was not cognizant of the doctrines of well-known economists. His annual message to the legislature in January, 1930, contained no references to rising unemployment or increasing privations. It was sometime afterwards that factories in New York State began closing their doors and problems of relief began occupying local municipal authorities. Facing up to the situation, the Governor recommended an immediate relief program—joint co-operation of community relief agencies, active stimulation of small businesses, establishment of employment clearing houses, and the initiation of local public works programs. To meet the long-range program, he appointed a Committee on the Stabilization of Industry for the Prevention of Unemployment. New York thus became the first state to appoint such a Commission to co-ordinate efforts to reduce unemployment. Mr. Bellush appears to blame the Governor for lack of foresight. However, it was a part of his duty as Governor to keep up the spirits and hopes of the people and prevent further collapse and depression, and at the same time to make such efforts as could be made to deal with the problem locally and immediately while studying more long-range plans.

Mr. Bellush shows a certain unnecessary partisanship when he says that "the powerful industries of the State of New York, like their representative spokesmen in the legislature, had rarely shown any good will or initiative in eliminating industrial accidents, indus-

Exercise in Aesthetics

THE lilac bushes were small with winter.
Rain-repeated, the abacus of barberries
Ran red, ran red above the smoking snow
And the green chickweed where it winked.
Low to the ground, fog hovered and blew and shifted.
The house we passed was three miles from the last
And, as it turned out, three miles to the next.
A back road between cold-blackened pines
On a cellar of a morning near December's end.
Nobody visible at the house. My question was
Whom were all the Christmas signals for—
The candles in the windows and the doorwreath
Ribboned to render hemlock a gay creation?
At most a stranger or two passed once a day,
Like us, in a moment passing. For us, then?
Yes, if we happened by. But of necessity
First for the mingled joy of decorations
And whoever made them. How else could it be?

WINFIELD TOWNLEY SCOTT

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trial diseases, child labor, and long hours," and indicates that practically every bill looking in these directions had been opposed by the great mass of industrialists. The opposition to reform, in fact, came from many small industries led by a political organization which had financial reasons for keeping itself alive and providing a payroll for its employees. At the same time some of the great industrial institutions of New York like Eastman Kodak Company, the General Electric Company, the Tuyck Bros. Felt. Co., some of the leading garment manufacturers, and notably a number of chemical and paper manufacturers, had made notable and successful experiments in reducing industrial accidents.

Without their help and ingenuity the program for preventing industrial diseases would have been impossible. They were experimenting with measures for insurance benefits to employees, and were fully convinced and agreed on the benefits of reasonably short hours and good wages. Certainly the State of New York relied on some of them to take the lead, as indeed they did, in working out programs for the prevention of unemployment and for the relief of unemployment within their own particular industries.

If Roosevelt recognized their contributions he was but recognizing one of the great assets and resources of New York State, and it is a pity that Mr. Bellush has taken so doctrinaire an attitude. Roosevelt was still trying to stimulate action on the part of those who were in a position to act constructively without relying upon an impossible scheme of unemployment insurance, as Mr. Bellush indicates should have been done, at a time when no insurance was possible because employment was declining. Insurance can only be built up in a period when people are at work and premiums paid on the earnings. Through his creation of a Stabilization Committee, the Governor took the opportunity to introduce and canvass the possibilities of future unemployment insurance, at the same time providing immediate relief.

It was at this time, as Mr. Bellush points out, that Roosevelt showed one of his most constructive dispositions, a willingness to experiment. The reports of his Commissions indicated increasing unemployment and human suffering. Roosevelt pressed for large public works programs. The Governor learned a great deal through this period about the problems of the localities, although it was not until the summer of 1931 that New York began a comprehensive scheme of caring for its unemployed. His leadership in calling together the Governors of the adjoining states did much to stimulate the thinking and the action of whole communities with regard to providing emergency work and wages. He called a special session of the legislature in August, 1931, to consider appropriations for unemployment relief. The contention that the State itself must assume responsibility to provide work, food, shelter and clothing for its unemployed was a challenge to American tradition, and to Roosevelt's future leadership. It was an effort to preserve the American economic system, and Bellush has discovered one of the Roosevelt historic remarks:

> It is time for the country to become fairly radical for at least one generation. History shows that where this occurs occasionally nations are saved from revolutions.

The legislature passed legislation appropriating emergency funds. Harry Hopkins was called from the Administration of the New York State Tuberculosis Association to head the temporary Emergency Relief Administration. People tended to rise above political backgrounds as the growing sufferings of people tended to wipe out distinctions, and the fear of worse to follow created large areas of support.

The Governor's efforts in establishing pensions for the needy and aged which led to the Mastic Commission on Old Age Security, the American Federation of Labor's opposition to a program of unemployment insurance as a dole and a handout are all cited. He recalls Governor Roosevelt's shattering announcement to the Governors' Conference in Salt Lake City that the US would always be faced with serious unemployment situations as a by-product of industrial development, mentioning a five-day week, a shorter work day, public works programs, and emergency relief efforts. His announcement that only through scientific and businesslike unemployment insurance and old age benefits could the nation evolve permanent solutions to unemployment created considerable stir throughout the country.

Bellush tells us about Roosevelt's invitation to employers and garment labor to meet with him in the Executive Office after 24,000 New York dressmakers had struck. He here contrasts Roosevelt with other Governors who did not know how to handle labor disputes; but he neglects to point out that having the garment trades come up to Albany in order to make their peace under the Governor's prestige was an old habit in New York, not a great innovation. It was something that had to be done and Governor Roosevelt did it well. Roosevelt showed himself at every point receptive to new ideas, able to deal with people at the level where they live and work, sympathetic and energetic in the promotion of their goals.

The power problem is discussed in considerable detail. The question of the development of the St. Lawrence River for water power became a major problem during Governor Roosevelt's administration. He hit upon a middle way between the extreme proposals on both sides, but he was not able to secure his objectives during his governorship. He learned much of the problems of water-power and came to the conclusion that water power belongs to the people and must be so developed. All these matters found later expression in what he did as President.

The story of the investigation and removal of Mayor Walker is treated in one brief chapter. It is possible that it deserved more, as it was a key both to Roosevelt's character and to his future. It was the thing for him to do, but his examination of Walker was judicious and searching and at the same time tinged with the kindliness which was a part of his nature.

This book is important. It traces Roosevelt's development through the Governorship extremely well. It contains almost untouched aspects of his life and thought in this period. It is well written, and it is essential background for those who would understand Roosevelt as President.

Notes on the Critics

RIDGELY CUMMINGS is a free-lance writer in Los Angeles. FRANCES LANAHAN is on the staff of *The Democratic Digest*. FRANCES PERKINS was President Roosevelt's Secretary of Labor throughout his administration.

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FILMS

A BRIEF synopsis of the heroine of John Steinbeck's novel, *East of Eden,* may help to make clear my own experience of the film version and to indicate the reason that a radical misunderstanding distorted my impressions. Steinbeck's heroine is named Cathy and she is a delightful creature who makes Lady Macbeth seem like a naughty girl and Lizzie Borden a half-hearted dilettante, as she commits crime after crime with the casual aplomb of someone eating a sandwich, driving her first love to suicide,

East of Eden (Twentieth Century-Fox).

killing her parents because she had been whipped for staying home from school, infuriating her first protector, a prudent man, until he beats her almost to death, sleeping with her brother-in-law on her wedding night, departing from Adam Trask, her husband, after giving birth to twins, establishing herself in a house of ill-fame, poisoning the madam who loves her like a daughter and being, in short, absolutely remarkable for the entirely gratuitous and unmotivated quality of her behavior. The crux of the novel appears to be the necessity that her husband recognize that she is a monster and thus recognize the fact that human beings are prone to evil as the descendants of Cain. It is very difficult for Adam Trask to accept this fact, and the novelist himself suffers from the hero's difficulties in some of the many direct reflections on the nature of existence which recur throughout the book:

> When I said that Cathy was a monster it seemed to me that it was so. Now I have bent close with a glass over the small print of her and reread the footnotes and wonder if it was true. The trouble is that since we cannot know what she wanted, we will never know whether or not she got it.

It is in this literal sense that she is unmotivated: she does not know what she wants, the novelist does not know, and the reader can hardly find her relentless villainy plausible.

As an admirer of Steinbeck, but not of *East of Eden,* and in addition as an admirer of Elia Kazan, I went to the film version thinking that if anyone were capable of making Steinbeck's charmer intelligible, it was Mr. Kazan. Ten minutes after the beginning of the film, I became afraid that I had not come at the beginning but towards the end, since the first 413 of the novel's 602 pages had been set aside entirely. And then as the film concentrated upon the young manhood of the two sons of Cathy and Adam Trask in relation to the father and to Abra, the girl with whom they are both in love, I expected a long flashback showing Cathy in her prime. The continual disappointment of this hope to the very end may well have weakened my sense of what did occur.

Abra is the sweetheart of Aron, the "good" son, but she seems far more fascinated by Caleb, the "bad" son, prancing about him in a way which looked very much like an effort to entice him into a bout of jiu-jitsu, but which may have been intended to express her conflicting desires and which she herself regards as the natural solicitude of a future sister-in-law. Personally I thought there was no conflict whatever and that unnecessary solicitude was being confused with maddening flirtation. Caleb is disturbed and perplexed by her antics, just as he is disturbed that she prefers his brother to him; and he has been even more disturbed and perplexed because his father also prefers his brother and disapproves of him. His perplexity is reduced when he discovers that his mother, far from being dead as his father had told his brother and himself, is the owner and director of what she describes with personal pride as the finest brothel on the Pacific Coast. He concludes that he is "bad" because he takes after his bad mother while his brother is good because he takes after his noble father. The true difficulty here is that Caleb does not seem wicked but merely a little fey.

At the same time, neither Adam Trask nor his good son appear to be particularly good human beings: their self-righteousness has as much relationship to genuine goodness as a cigar-store Indian has to Sitting Bull. Thus when Adam Trask loses a fortune in a premature frozen-food enterprise, his goodness, as it seems to his son, Caleb, is his indifference to the loss of all the money, which helps to inspire Caleb to make all the money back: he borrows $5,000 from his mother, invests it in beans, rightly anticipating the rise in price which occurs when America enters the First World War, and making the fortune his father has lost. When he comes with the money as a gift to his father on his birthday, he is denounced as a war profiteer and his offering not only rejected as blood money but compared with his brother's gift: the announcement of his engagement.

Soon after, when Caleb attempts to rescue his brother from an angry mob, he is denounced all over again: this is too much for Caleb to bear: he tells his brother the truth about his mother; Aron is so shocked that his mother is a madam that he forgets his intense conviction that the war is wrong and enlists in the Army. As a result, Adam suffers a stroke: but on his death bed he forgives and blesses Caleb as one who has been wicked because he was rejected and unloved. The point is that we are all the children of Cain and hence likely to be angry and evil when we are unloved. It would be idle to wonder how the difference between Albert Schweitzer and Adolf Hitler can be understood from this point of view when there is so much else which has a prior claim as baffling.

The performances of James Dean as Caleb and Julie Harris are enough to make one doubt that an accidental or arbitrary failure accounts for the character of the film. Dean, who has been advertised as "a special new type of star" seems at first a new type only as the shy or inarticulate ham, a master of the downcast glance and the turned-in toes. And Julie Harris, as gifted an actress as Mr. Kazan is a director, gives a performance which is ridden by what Yvor Winters, in criticizing modern poetry, has called the fallacy of pseudo-reference, the intense expression of emotion inspired by a situation which is obscure, concealed, or perhaps does not exist.

Nevertheless the entire film is poor in a way which may be meaningful precisely because of its extreme failure to interpret the emotions of the new generation. Turning from the imitations of life on the TV plate, John Crosby remarked last month that perhaps this was the agonized generation: since it is an agony of perplexity, it may be that the emotions seem disconnected from any actual situation not because an author or director has been guilty of pseudo-reference, but because the world which confronts the new generation is inexplicable.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ

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CORRESPONDENCE

► Back on a Hot Tin Roof

SIRS:

Your readers should be informed of the true intent of Tennessee Williams' *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof,* which I feel sure your reviewer has missed. Mr. Bentley complains that Williams has not made the character of Brick clear enough. He also complains that Williams is content with Sincerity and Truth as abstractions rather than common-noun realities. The playwright is the wiser. He knows that the psychological truth in this case, as in so many, is not capable of great clarity. The focus of the play is on one's responsibility to a truth dimly seen.

The play reiterates its theme: mendacity, and its opposite, the truth. This would, indeed, be trite if Mr. Williams' notion of the truth were trite. The virtue of the play, however, is that the truth is regarded as having many sides. It also has more than one level. The truth which Brick is forced to recognize is in the form of a perception about his own psychological and moral make-up: he is not 100 percent heterosexual and he is not 100 percent innocent of his friend's catastrophe, which means he is not 100 percent honest. In the final act, the truth assumes an added dimension. Maggie, to whom the factual truth regarding her husband has long been known (in so far as it can be known and is important to know), possesses something further, which Brick calls "the desperate truth." This is the truth which comes to be because it *must* come to be—truth in the service of life. Because he was on the defensive, Brick (and others of the play, also) had buried a truth already existent. Because she is desperate, Maggie brings to birth a truth not yet wholly realized but lying implicit in her own desperation.

Mr. Williams in this play is interested in something far more significant than one man's psychological make-up. He is interested in what may and may not be said about the truth as a motivating force in human life. The play is thus less psychological than moral in orientation.

If Mr. Bentley weren't so pre-occupied with what constitutes co-authorship, he might have seen all this.

ROGER ASHTON

New York City

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SIRS:

There is a confusion here. A writer may present vagueness but he must not present it vaguely. I don't object to Mr. Williams presenting an equivocal character but to his presenting him equivocally; that is, to his not quite presenting him. As to co-authorship, my correspondence files indicate that Mr. Williams is more pre-occupied by the problem than I am.

ERIC BENTLEY

New York City

The New Republic welcomes communications from its readers in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less lend themselves to publication more readily than longer letters.

► The Harlans of Kentucky

SIRS:

Eugene Gressman's article "The New Justice Harlan" (*NR*, April 4, 1955) contains a statement that grandfather Harlan (US Supreme Court, 1877-1911) "was once a slave owner." This is technically correct, but a fuller explanation is in order.

In preparing a biography of the old Harlan I have found only one reference to him as a slave owner. Sometime after his marriage in 1856 and prior to the beginning of the Civil War, Harlan was approached by a colored woman who had known the Harlan family. This woman, "Aunt" Charlotte, asked Harlan to purchase her. "Why," said Harlan, "I have never owned a slave in my life, and am opposed to slavery." The woman was not put off easily and argued that she had to be owned by someone; she insisted that she would prove a worthy servant.

As Harlan was about to leave his father's roof and go into housekeeping, he agreed to buy "Aunt" Charlotte and employ her as a cook. He purchased the slave for $125. The savory viands that "Aunt" Charlotte concocted remained as pleasant memories with Harlan to the end of his life.

The present Supreme Court Justice's great-grandfather, James Harlan, *was* a slave owner. His slaves were acquired by inheritance. As Attorney General of Kentucky, James Harlan maintained these slaves at his Frankfort home. No abolitionist, James Harlan was an emancipator. Beginning about 1849 he gave annual gifts of money to his slaves and some of them eventually bought their freedom from him. In view of the fact that it was political suicide to be an abolitionist in ante-bellum Kentucky, James Harlan went about as far as he dared to express his opposition to the institution of slavery. Moreover, James Harlan in his law practice handled litigation concerning suits for freedom. He was vigorously criticized for the clients he represented, but like our most courageous attorneys today he defended his right to act for those whom the community held in disdain.

DAVID G. FARRELLY

Los Angeles, California

► Israel and Palestine

SIRS:

I always considered *The New Republic* as one of those who would fight against propaganda wars and for human welfare regardless where there is need for it. With the headline over Ray Alan's article, "Another Partition of Israel?" in a recent issue (*NR*, April 11) you have not served human welfare and I am deeply disappointed. As before, I am certain that you will not print my letter, because you seem to have the mistaken notion that "Liberalism" has to embrace Zionism and you are afraid of Zionist protests from some readers.

New York City OTTO S. LEIB

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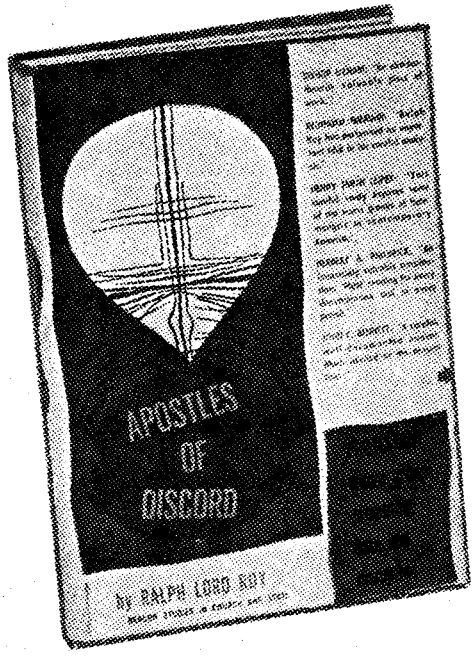

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